

IMMEDIATE

CYPRUS: ADVANCE COPIES ~~43~~ 12

PS

PS/LADY WOUNG

PS/MR. WHITNEY

PS/PUS

~~SIR J BULLARD~~

MR JAMES

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HD/SED

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RESIDENT CLERK

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET
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CONFIDENTIAL

FM ANKARA 181515Z OCT 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 486 OF 18 OCTOBER

INFO IMMEDIATE TO NICOSIA, ATHENS AND MODUK (PS S OF S)

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON

INFO ROUTINE PARIS, BONN, ROME, CBFC

VISIT OF DEFENCE SECRETARY: CYPRUS

1. MR HESELTINE DISCUSSED CYPRUS WITH BOTH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT EVREN THIS MORNING. WITH BOTH HE EXPRESSED HMG'S SUPPORT FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CONCERN AT THE POSSIBILITY OF A DECLARATION OF UDI BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. HE EXPLAINED THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR TURKEY WHICH WE SAW FLOWING FROM SUCH A MOVE.

2. TURKMEN EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE UK'S CONCERN UDI WOULD NOT

2. TURKMEN EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE UK'S CONCERN. UDI WOULD NOT BE A TRAGEDY. IT WOULD MERELY BE A CONFIRMATION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION. EVEN IF UDI WERE DECLARED, IT WOULD NOT RULE OUT A CONTINUATION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. THE TSFC WAS IN ANY CASE A STATE IN ALL BUT NAME. THAT SAID, TURKMEN DID NOT FAVOUR UDI AT THIS TIME. BUT THERE WERE LIMITS TO TURKEY'S ABILITY TO CONTROL DENKTASH. PREVIOUSLY THE GREEKS HAD SAID THAT THEY COULD NOT CONTROL MAKARIOS. THE TURKS DID NOT BELIEVE THEM. BUT NOW THEY UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM. OF COURSE TURKEY HAD FORCES IN CYPRUS BUT SHE COULD NOT USE THEM. DENKTASH WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY RECEIVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION IF HE DECLARED UDI. TURKMEN THEN REITERATED THAT HE DID NOT SUPPORT SUCH A MOVE NOW. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WERE DOING THEIR BEST TO DISSUADE DENKTASH. BUT IF HE DECLARED UDI TURKEY COULD NOT PREVENT IT. IT SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A TRAGEDY BUT AS A NORMAL PART OF A LONG SEQUENCE OF EVENTS.

3. IN REPLY, MR HESELTINE SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT IN THE REAL WORLD MR TURKMEN'S DESCRIPTION OF A (NEXT TWO WORDS UNDERLINED) DE FACTO STATE IN CYPRUS MIGHT NOT BE FAR OUT. BUT THAT WAS NOT THE WHOLE STORY. IF UDI WERE DECLARED MUCH HEAT WOULD BE GENERATED AT THE UNITED NATIONS. HMG AS A GUARANTOR POWER COULD NOT IGNORE THE NEW SITUATION. TURKMEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WOULD BE A ROW BUT HE COULD NOT SEE THE SITUATION IN TRAGIC TERMS IN COMPARISON WITH EG THE LEBANON. THE UNITED KINGDOM DID NOT ALWAYS ABIDE BY UN RESOLUTIONS. WHAT COULD HAPPEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS DID NOT WORRY TURKEY. MR HESELTINE HAD REFERRED TO BRITAIN'S POSITION AS A GUARANTOR POWER. BUT TIMES HAD CHANGED. THE EVENTS OF 1974 HAD SHOWN THAT THE UK COULD NOT ACT IN THE CAPACITY AND THEREFORE HE COULD NOT SEE THAT THIS AFFECTED OUR POSITION.

4. WHEN MR HESELTINE SAID THAT A DECLARATION OF UDI WOULD HAND THE PROPAGANDA GAME TO THE GREEKS BY PUTTING TURKEY ON THE WRONG FOOT, TURKMEN REFERRED TO GREECE'S PERFORMANCE IN NATO AND SAID THAT IF THAT DID NOT PUT GREECE ON THE WRONG FOOT, THEN TURKEY SHOULD BE IN THE CLEAR. BUT WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE HE, TURKMEN, HAD PUT A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE ON DENKTASH. BUT DENKTASH WAS PROVING DEFIANT. IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT TURKEY'S FRIENDS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION IN WHICH SHE FOUND HERSELF. FINALLY IN ANSWER TO MR TURKMEN'S QUESTION, MR HESELTINE SAID THAT WE WERE ALSO PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE GREEKS AND INDEED LADY YOUNG WAS VISITING CYPRUS WHERE SHE WOULD TALK TO THE GREEK SIDE. MR TURKMEN COMMENTED THAT PAPANDEOU CARRIED GREAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE

~~COMMENTED THAT PAPANDEOU CARRIED GREAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE~~
PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS TO WHICH MR HESELTINE REPLIED THAT IF
TURKEY WERE TO CONDONE ACTION WHICH CAUSED A BREAKDOWN OF THE
INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THEY WOULD SIMPLY SUCCEED IN MAKING
PAPANDEOU SEEM TO BE IN THE RIGHT. TURKMEN CONCLUDED BY POINTING
TO THE FACT THAT GERMANY AND KOREA, SINGLE NATIONS, WERE DIVIDED.
CYPRUS CONTAINED TWO NATIONS AND THE DIVISION INTO TWO WOULD
NOT BE TRAGIC.

5. PRESIDENT EVREN SPOKE IN GENERALLY SIMILAR TERMS. HE
SAID THAT THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN CYPRUS HAD SUFFERED EXPLOITATION
AND A STATE OF SEIGE AND EMBARGO FOR TWENTY YEARS. IF THAT COMMUNITY
DECIDED TO TAKE ITS FREEDOM INTO ITS OWN HANDS, EVEN THOUGH TURKEY
HAD PREVENTED IT DOING SO UP TO NOW. IT WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DO SO
IN THE FUTURE. THE GREEKS FELT FREE TO RESORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS
WHenever THEY PLEASED. PRESIDENT EVREN DID NOT SEE HOW THEY COULD
STOP THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS ALSO GOING THEIR OWN WAY. SMALL COUNTRIES
OF 50 THOUSAND PEOPLE HAD GAINED THEIR INDEPENDENCE. HOW COULD THE
TURKISH CYPRIOTS BE PREVENTED FROM DOING SO ALSO ? HE URGED THAT
PRESSURE SHOULD BE PUT ON THE GREEK SIDE TO COMPEL THEM TO REACH
A SOLUTION. TURKEY HAD DONE ALL SHE COULD UP TO NOW. A DECISION ON
INDEPENDENCE COULD NOT BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. IN PARTICULAR
THERE WOULD SHORTLY BE AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY WITH AN
OPPOSITION THAT WOULD MAKE THE HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM MORE
DIFFICULT.

6. MR HESELTINE REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE
TURKISH SIDE. BUT IF UDI WERE TO BE DECLARED THE PROPAGANDA WHICH
WOULD THEN BE DEPLOYED WOULD CERTAINLY BE HARMFUL TO TURKEY. THE
GREEKS WOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION.
MR HESELTINE AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE
GREEK SIDE AND LADY YOUNG WOULD BE TALKING TO THEM IN CYPRUS THIS
WEEK.

7. SEE MIFT.

RUSSELL

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